

Or, we should rather have said not remarkable, that nearly all the infidels of the land are in the ranks of the Black Republicans. All the soi-disant reverends who renounce and denounce the God of the Bible are among the most noisy, unscrupulous and habitual falsifiers of that party. They are men who suck substance from dupes all around, but who afford no wholesome nourishment for body or soul to any one.

These reverends have abandoned the teaching of their flocks, the holy precepts and examples of the Saviour; they have ceased to inculcate charity and brotherly kindness, the loving of our neighbor as ourselves; they have ceased to warn themselves and their people to cast out the beam from their own eye before railing at the mote in a brother's eye. The sermon on the Mount is no longer heard in their churches? But in their stead a fierce and unrelenting hate towards unoffending brethren is daily preached by those "dogs in foreheads but deer in heart," the Beechers, Sillimans, Parkers, Phillips, and *et id omne genus*. For Bibles, Sharpe's rifles are substituted, and for psalms and hymns, doggerel instigating sedition and discord have been substituted.

What crimes or sins has the South committed, and of which the North is innocent, that a warfare should be carried on by the North against the South with such unsparring, relentless malignity, villifying and slandering the South, its people and all their institutions.

We place a truthful picture before our readers, and leave them to judge how far the South is really subject to censure and such virulent hostility from the North; of the propriety of the North passing sentence of unmitigated condemnation, and of wreaking its utmost vengeance regardless even of the axis of the Constitution.

## THE CASE STATED.

During our subjection to Great Britain as colonies, the South then, as now, were without shipping. Then, as subsequently, up to the period of the abolition of the slave trade with Africa, the importation of slaves from Africa was made by the English and the North. Upon these, and these alone, does the whole stigma of African slavery in this country rest. The South is wholly exempt from reducing freemen to slavery.

The North is "steeped to the eyes, crimsoned with this enormous guilt."

The North has received profits from this guilty trade, which, being invested as received, now exceeds the enormous sum of two thousand millions of dollars.

With this enormous fruit of its 'guilt in its pocket, the North sits in judgment on the South, making itself accuser, witness, judge, and executioner.

The offence charged upon the South is this: that the North having violently and wickedly reduced many hundred thousand freemen to slavery—having packed them, like herring, in holds of ships, where nearly one-fourth died from suffering, and having brought them to this country, offered them for sale to the South as slaves for life, they and their posterity, until he will of their owners should emancipate them. They furnished bills of sale guaranteeing all this, and each northern man, with his own sign manual, gave receipt for the consideration. The South, finding the negroes in acknowledged, perpetual slavery to these northern men, who gave guarantee that the right to hold the negroes and their posterity in perpetual bondage was indisputable, purchased and paid the price for the guarantee.

With this admitted state of the case, the North not only refuses to restore these slaves thus purchased when they escape to them, but seek by every thieving, sneaking and dishonorable means to steal and to entice away the people who they themselves first enslaved and then sold into slavery, but also do this in defiance of a solemn compact made by every northern State, pledging its sacred honor to its fulfillment.

Not only this, but they protest against one of these slaves going into any portion of the common and immense federal domain, belonging equally to the holders of the slaves as to the northern men.

The South is condemned by the North, (the Black Republican North,) to lose their slaves when they escape to the North, to have every slave kidnapped, seduced, or stolen by the North without reserve, hesitation or limit. To have the slaves in the District of Columbia forcibly manumitted; in addition to the full price paid the North for these slaves, the North now requires, in addition, the abandonment by the South, with their slaves, of all right or pretension to any portion of their own domain, a domain in which they are with the North joint and equal tenants. This was certainly no part of the original contract when bills of sale were given for the slaves, nor is there any trace of any such subsequent provision. The North would also prohibit the inter-State slave trade or commerce, and prohibit the passage of slaves from one State to another.

The North itself held in slavery as many negroes as it found profitable. How did the Northern States get rid of slavery? By emancipation? No. They did not pass laws emancipating all who were their slaves, but they did pass laws to the effect that, if the owners of slaves did not by a certain time sell their slaves out of the State, that they should be free. Under this law, of course, all were sold except those whose owners were willing to set them free, and needed no law to do so. Thus it clearly appears no Northern State ever emancipated its slaves.

Having thus imported slaves and sold them to the South as long as the law allowed; having worked as many of them at the North as were profitable, and as long as they were profitable, they then emancipated them into slavery at the South for a full consideration.

The laws were laws for emancipating the Northern States from negroes, and nothing else; they were laws to relieve themselves from burdens, not for the freedom or welfare of the negro; from no motive of philanthropy or mercy, but a cold calculation of their own interests and convenience; it was an emancipation for which full value for the slaves was received, and by which the negroes were consigned into

## CITY OF WASHINGTON, TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 19, 1856.

a designed perpetual slavery for a full consideration received.

Without referring to the immense profit which these same men have received for transporting the products of slave-labor, from the manufacturing these products, from the supplies furnished to the slaves and their masters, we will simply say—

That with this record before it the North sits in judgment on the South and announces the verdict:

It discards the old adage that "the receiver is as bad as the thief," and its verdict stands—

"That the receiver is alone the guilty one."

The thief is not only guiltless in their estimation, but he is the very proper person to accuse, prosecute, testify against, judge, condemn and execute the receiver; the very thief who assured the receiver that his title to the slave was perfect and absolute and who had given a guarantee of title to the receiver against every such claimant.

The judge is the Northern thief, with the consideration and guarantee money in his pocket, setting in judgment on the Southern receiver, who holds the judge's own bill of sale, receipts and guarantee of title in his hands. Yet the honest thief judge, chinking his guilt-money, in his pocket, condemns his Southern receiver.

This is a plain unvarnished truthful statement in which scarce half the enormity of Northern guilt is shown, and but a portion of the monstrous injustice to the South appears. We will exhibit this in a separate article.

## WORDS OF WISDOM AND PATRIOTISM.

"The agitation on the question of domestic Slavery has too long distracted and divided the people of the Union and alienated their affections from each other."

"Most happy would it be for the country, if this long agitation were at an end. During its whole progress it has produced no practical good to any human being, whilst it has been the source of great and dangerous evils. It has alienated and estranged one portion of the Union from the other, and has even seriously threatened its existence. To my own personal knowledge it has produced the impression among foreign nations that our great and glorious confederacy is in constant danger of dissolution. This does us serious injury, because acknowledged power and stability always command respect among nations, and are among the best securities against unjust aggressions, and in favor of the maintenance of honorable peace."

"Under these circumstances, I must cheerfully pledge myself, should the nomination of the convention be ratified by the people, that all the power and influence, constitutionally possessed by the Executive, shall be exerted in a firm but conciliatory spirit, during the single term I shall remain in office, to restore the same harmony among sister States which prevailed before this apple of discord, in the form of Slavery agitation, had been cast into their midst."—JAMES BUCHANAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

## Something for Southern Know-nothings.

The following, from a leading Northern Know-nothing journal, will be interesting to Southern members of the order:

"Know-nothingism and Black Republicanism.—The Albany Register, a leading Know-nothing paper, says that 'everything, except in New York, these two titles [Know-nothingism and Black Republicanism] are indissolubly joined together in a holy wedlock.' The Register further says:

"If Fremont is elected the country will owe the American party a debt of gratitude; for it is not doing justice to other noble advocates of freedom to say that the American organization in the East and West is the backbone of the Republican party."

"Those Germans in our city who lately formed a Fremont club, resolving at the same time against Know-nothingism, will no doubt be pleased to know that they have allied themselves with the very faction against which they levelled their denunciations. They will no doubt be delighted to learn that Black Republicanism 'is indissolubly joined in a holy wedlock' with Know-nothingism; and that the Know-nothingism organization 'is the backbone of the Republican party.'"

## The Issues in a Nut-shell.

A National Whig of Alabama, R. W. Walker, in responding to an invitation to attend and address a Democratic mass meeting, states the issues in the pending contest with a degree of conciseness and clearness that we have rarely seen. Here is an extract from his letter:

"Believing that the Democratic party is the only national party now in existence, and that upon its success in the present contest depends the preservation of the rights of the South, if indeed, the Know-nothings. The errors of these parties, then, (if the terms be not too mild), are errors of fundamental and vital principles, menacing, in the one instance, the civil privileges and the religious liberty of the private citizen; and in the other, the sovereign rights of the States and the existence of the Union. The Democratic party alone, of all the organizations now in the field, maintains and defends both of these essential principles, and thus, in my humble judgment, entitles itself to the cordial support and co-operation of all national men, of every section and party."

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,"

R. W. WALKER.

## LETTER OF HON. THOMAS G. PRATT, OF MARYLAND.

Below will be found a truly statesmanlike letter from Senator Pratt to his fellow-Whigs of Maryland. It takes irrefragable positions justifying his and their support at the coming election of the Democratic nominees.

It states briefly that Mr. Fillmore abandoned his Whig friends and went over to the American party, which denounced the Whig party; that Mr. Fillmore accepted the nomination as of the American party; that he did not consult his Whig friends, nor appeal nor refer to them in his acceptance; that, in fact, he made himself a voluntary separation from them, consequently there can be no claim by him to their support.

The letter shows that the Fremont party is organized for the express purpose of attacking the rights and interests of Maryland.

That, allowing to Mr. Fillmore every merit claimed for him, it is clear as noonday that he cannot be elected.

That it is equally clear, that with the aid of the Whigs the nominees of the Democratic Convention can certainly be elected, and that thus the conspirators against the peace, interest, and honor of the South, will be defeated.

That the old issues between the parties are obsolete.

That to vote for Mr. Fillmore, in the South, is only a diversion in favor of Fremont.

## TO THE WHIGS OF MARYLAND.

In response to the communications received from many of my brother Whigs, I deem it my privilege, in this manner, to counsel with all in relation to the course which patriotism and duty would seem to indicate as proper in the present political crisis.

No lover of his country whose judgment is unbiased by party zeal and uncontrolled by Northern or Southern fanaticism can fail to see and deprecate the pending danger to the Union.

The first duty of every man who loves his country and her institutions is to provide for their safety. The life of the nation is in danger. It must be saved; then, and not till then, will it be permissible to us to discuss our differences of opinion upon minor subjects.

I say that the life of the Union is in danger, because, for the first time in our history, a party has been formed composed exclusively of citizens of one section of the country, bound together by the single bond of an alliance for offensive warfare against the other section. That such a party would be dangerous to the Union has been recently demonstrated by an address of Mr. Fillmore, and will, it is submitted, be apparent to all who will bestow a moment's consideration upon the existing posture of political affairs.

The value of the slave property of the South is not less than two thousand millions of dollars, a sum equal to one-fourth of all the other property in the United States, as shown by the last census. This property is not only recognized, but so far guaranteed by the Constitution as to impose upon the Federal Government the duty of restoring to its owner the slave who may escape into another State or Territory of the United States. For years past this constitutional obligation has been not only repudiated by some of the non-slaveholding States, but political parties have been organized in all with the avowed object of liberating the slave, and thus not only depriving the South of this vast amount of property, but subjecting it to all the horrors which would necessarily result from such a constitutional violation. In addition to this, whilst the abolitionists on the one hand openly avow their opposition to the Constitution and their desire to destroy a Government which imposes obligations repudiated by them, on the other hand many Southern men, goaded by the incessant attacks of their Northern fellow-citizens upon their feelings, their property, and their constitutional rights, express the belief that the interests of the South would be more effectually protected by a separation of the slave from the non-slaveholding States, and therefore rather promote than interpose to prevent a result so calamitous. We have hitherto disregarded the danger which such a state of feeling and such a course of action would indicate as most imminent, because we have assumed that such sentiments and action could only be attributed to a small minority of our Northern brethren. But now, when this sectional exasperation has been made available for the inauguration of a party calling itself Republican, under whose banner, for the first time in the history of the country, this sectional opposition to Southern rights and interests have united in nominating, with alleged probabilities of success, a purely sectional ticket for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, we can no longer shut our eyes to the reality of the threatened danger; we cannot but feel that the success of such a party would be the death knell of the Union.

The patriotic purposes of this sectional party are too manifest. Many of its supporters avow their object and purpose to be disunion, and have even gone so far in the madness of their fanaticism as to denigrate the flag of our country by obliterating from its constellation the fifteen stars which represent the slaveholding States, and displaying at their party banner that flag with but sixteen of its stars remaining, to represent the sixteen non-slaveholding States. It is manifest that those who disavow the object are not ignorant of the inevitable result.

The Whigs of Maryland, whom I have the honor to address, need no proof to convince them that calamitous consequences would flow from the success of this sectional party. They each and all know that the election of Mr. Fremont, and the administration of the Government by him upon the principles of his party, would necessarily occasion a dissolution of the Federal Union, to which they have been taught to look as the source of national strength and of individual prosperity and happiness.

I have known only the Whigs of my State too long, I estimate their patriotism too highly, I have associated with them too intimately, to suppose it necessary for a moment to offer an argument to them in behalf of their country. They appreciate, as fully as I could depict, the horrors of disunion; they will see the loss of national strength, the internal dissensions, the fatal check to civilization and freedom, the contempt of the world which would be the consequences of such a calamity. The Whigs of Maryland, who have followed the lead of such patriots as Clay and Webster, "will never keep to any other motto than that of the Union."

It therefore only remains to inquire what course shall be taken to rebuke sectional fanaticism and preserve our country from the dangers of its success.

You are aware that this Republican party,

which we all agree must be put down at all hazards, is opposed by two other party organizations: the American, headed by Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson, and the Democratic, led by Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge. You will recollect that Mr. Fillmore, prior to his recent visit to Europe, abandoned the Whig party and became a member of the former of these organizations, which boasted that he had risen upon the downfall of the Whig party, and which proclaimed that the corruptions of the Whig and Democratic parties constituted the necessity of its existence. You know that he and Andrew Jackson Donelson have been nominated by this party (not by the Whig party) for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, and you will admit that the principles of proscription, because of religious opinions, and other reputed tenets of this new party, are in direct antagonism with the principles of that good old Whig party to which we are still attached, and which has been abandoned by Mr. Fillmore. It is not my object in referring to these facts to cast aspersions upon the fair claim to nationality; nor to deny the patriotism and virtue of Mr. Fillmore, nor his eminent qualifications for the office of Chief Magistrate. But I do deduce from them the necessary conclusion, that as Whigs we owe no party allegiance to Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson, members and nominees of the American party. I deduce the conclusion, that as Whigs, we are not only at liberty, but that as patriots we are bound, by every obligation to our country and posterity, to throw aside, on the one hand, the feelings of hostility which Mr. Fillmore's desertion of our party would be calculated to engender, and, on the other hand, to forget for the time being the battles with the Democratic party, and to ask ourselves but one question—*which of the two national organizations offers the best guarantee of success in crushing out of existence this new and monstrous sectional party, which threatens the life of our country?* I do not propose to examine the relative claims of the two national parties, or their merits or demerits. It is not in my judgment, permissible in the present crisis to interpose our individual differences of opinion upon minor questions. It is sufficient for us to know that the election of either national nominee would secure the Union; and the only question permitted by patriotism is, whether the one or the other would more certainly prove successful?

But before I proceed to this inquiry, having shown that no political allegiance to Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson will interpose to prevent the fair exercise of our judgment on that side, I propose briefly to inquire whether there is anything to prevent our support of the Democratic nominees, if after investigation we shall believe that the one or the other would more certainly secure the safety of our country. It cannot have escaped your observation that the political principles upon which the Whig and Democratic parties have battled for thirty years, with varied success, have been for the most part settled by the fiat of the people, and that such as have not been so definitely disposed of have been either abandoned by the one or adopted by the other of those parties; so that now the representatives of the people in the halls of State and Federal legislation are found indiscriminately advocating and opposing the same principles and measures. Not only is there no principle of political antagonism which should prevent Whigs and Democrats acting together for the benefit of their common country, but it is confidently submitted that upon the only vital question, that which now agitates and endangers the country, the two parties fully accord. The Whig and Democratic platforms upon the slavery question are eighteen hundred and fifty-two were identical, and there being no Whig nor Democratic platform, it might be suggested that consistency would rather require that we oppose the support of the Democratic nominees by Whigs. The controlling inquiry to the patriot now recurs, *which of the two national organizations can by its vote be made most certainly successful?*

Every Maryland Whig will be bound by every tie of duty to vote as his judgment shall decide this question. It may not be immaterial to observe that neither of the national nominees will obtain throughout this broad land any votes which will not be cast by national conservative citizens, and it is to be regretted that in this crisis that vote should be divided between two sectional candidates, whilst the entire national vote will be concentrated upon the sectional nominee. To judge of the relative strength of the two national organizations it is unnecessary to trace minutely the origin of the American party. It is sufficient to bring to your recollection that it was originally composed, North and South, of the dissatisfied members of the two old parties, and that in the North its original members were chiefly those who opposed the conservative principle upon the slavery question avowed in the platforms of the two old parties. It must not escape your recollection that upon the nomination of Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson a large majority of the Northern delegates seceded from the convention, and that their intention not to support those nominees, and subsequently united in the nomination of Mr. Fremont. This separation of the sectional from the national portion of the American party has occurred in every Northern State in the Confederacy. I deduce from these facts the national origin of the American party, and I submit the inquiry for the honest decision of those to whom this paper is addressed, *what non-slaveholding State can this national branch of the American party, thus shorn of the larger portion of its original strength, promise its nominees?* Let the Whigs of Maryland ponder upon the view this subject I have endeavored to present to their consideration, and no one of them will say that a single non-slaveholding State is certain for Fillmore and Donelson. Time, I think, will develop the fact that Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson will be left without an electoral ticket in most of the free States, and it is at any rate the deliberate conviction of my judgment that they will not win a single non-slaveholding State in the Union. If I am right, or even approximate the truth in the view I have taken, it will necessarily follow that any conservative vote for the American nominees North will be equivalent to a vote for Mr. Fremont, as it will be a vote taken from Mr. Buchanan, his only real competitor. It is clear, then, that the South alone and the friends of Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson look for the probable chance of an electoral vote; and it is to the States of Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri that they profess to look with the greatest hope of success. It is manifest that if this hope were realized, it might indeed prevent the election of Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge by the people, but it would only throw the election of President upon the present House of Representatives, composed as that House now is. Does not the election of this same House, after a contest of two months, of a Black Republican Speaker, admonish us of the danger of such

an experiment? Who can doubt that our political fabric would be shaken to its very foundations by this election of President being thrown upon the present House of Representatives? On the other hand, is it not certain, beyond the contingency of a doubt, that the vote of the States indicated for Mr. Buchanan, when added to that of the other Southern States, would secure his election and the consequent safety of the Union? It is obvious that in this condition of the canvass, the only serious contest is that between Fremont and Buchanan; that the only possible result that the most sanguine of the friends of Fillmore and Donelson can hope to attain is to carry the contest into the House of Representatives. Who can conceive anything more fatal to the peace of the country, more insane in political aspect, than such a course of conduct leading to such a result? Suppose Mr. Fillmore to reach the House of Representatives with the votes of four or five States, (his utmost possible strength,) no matter what position he should be elected President, and assuredly few will be found bold enough to assert that, under such circumstances, he ought to be. The only effect, then, of giving the electoral vote of any portion of the South to Mr. Fillmore would be to transfer the contest between Mr. Buchanan and Fremont from the contest to the House of Representatives; and the danger to our country, now sufficiently menacing, would, in that event, be appalling indeed. Who can contemplate the occurrence of such a contingency, without feeling that he would be a traitor to his country, if he failed to exert every possible effort to avert so awful a calamity?

Let it, then, be my duty, as well as that of all who believe with me, that the election of Fremont would be the death-knell of the Union, to unite in the support of Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge; and I shall sustain their election to the best of my ability. Whilst I concede that there are certain principles hitherto professed by the party which nominated them, that cannot receive our support, yet on the great issues of the constitutional rights of the South the platform on which they stand meets my cordial approval, and is in accordance with that of the party which I now advocate, and to whose kind favor I owe the honor of holding the seat I now occupy, and which I shall seek to hold after the 4th of March next by the fiat of that party to which Mr. Fillmore has attached himself, and which is now dominant in the Legislature of my native State.

Let Maryland Whigs remember that the political battle now being fought is one of the deepest interest to them; that the maintenance of the constitutional rights of the South is the issue decided to the American people by the Democratic party, and (as the Whigs have no candidate) by that party alone; that upon this issue the Republican party have staked the Union; and in such a battle, upon such an issue, they must be true to those who are doing battle in our behalf. It would be indeed sad if, in such a contest, the conservative Whigs of the country should not be united; it would be as strange as sad if, in such a contest, Southern men should not be found lending shoulder to shoulder for the maintenance of their own constitutional rights.

In thus accomplishing what I believe to be a duty, I shall be inexpressibly gratified if I shall receive the approval of the approval of my fellow-Whigs, who have refused to abandon either the party or the principles in support of which we have so long and so faithfully united, and which we shall remain at perfect liberty to reorganize as soon as our common efforts shall have succeeded in averting the perils that now threaten our beloved country.

THOMAS G. PRATT.

## Hon. J. D. Bright's Letter.

To the great Democratic mass meeting at Indianapolis on the 17th July.

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1856.

DEAR SIR: I have seen Senators Cass, Douglas, and Brown, and Representative Cobb, of Georgia, and agreeably to your request, have invited them in behalf of the "State Rights" Whigs, to attend the mass meeting of our friends at Indianapolis on the 17th instant. Mr. Cobb has assured me that he would be present, but the other gentlemen feel that they cannot, consistently with their pressing duties here, be absent for the length of time such a visit would necessarily require, and they beg to be excused. For myself, nothing would afford me more pleasure than to unite on the occasion with the democracy of our State in ratifying the nominations of that experienced and profound statesman, James Buchanan, for President, and the equally worthy and gifted young son of Kentucky, John C. Breckinridge, for Vice President, but my official engagements here are of such a character as to forbid my leaving at this time.

I avail myself, however, of the opportunity to say to you, and to the mass gathering of our friends, and to my constituents generally, that so soon as my duties here will permit, I shall hasten home with the intention of visiting as many counties as time will allow, and holding converse with the people, face to face, on the absorbing questions of the day. If there ever was a time when the constituent and his representative should be brought close together to commune with each other freely, it is the present. The systematic effort that is being made to array one section of our country against another upon a purely local question, and to induce the masses of men by misrepresentations and falsehood, is calculated to alarm those who love the Union and desire its perpetuity. Against the dangers of sectionalism we were early warned by the Father of his Country; yet the tendency of the public mind for the past few years, led on by men sometimes designing, and always fanatical, has been to avoid that result, and to make, for the first time in the history of our country, a formidable sectional party, presenting sectional candidates for the highest offices in the nation's gift, and basing their claims to election upon purely sectional grounds. It is appalling to contemplate the consequences which must result from the success of such a party; for it can see in face, and in the dismemberment of that glorious Union—the work of our revolutionary patriots—the bequest of our revolutionary sires—to which we are indebted for our security at home and our consideration and dignity abroad.

The Union had its origin in the wants and necessities of the whole people and of the several States, and every year of its existence has afforded fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings. Under its benign influences, agriculture, commerce—every industrial pursuit—have flourished in an unparalleled degree; and we have grown, in the short period of three-quarters of a century, from an inconceivable power to be one of the mightiest nations of the world. One might well pause to consider whether it would be wise to throw all these advantages away for the very illusory, unsubstantial gains which sectionalism will furnish. For myself, "I have not," in the language of the immortal Webster, "coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder."

I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up, and destroyed. While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union—on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent—on a land split with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood. Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing in them all a remembrance of the mercies that have in times past, borne us in our unimpaired condition, and will hereafter sustain us in the same. What is all this worth? nor those other words of delusion and folly, *Liberty first and Union afterwards*; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every American heart, LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE!

A firm believer in man's capacity for self-government, I will not allow myself to suppose that the people of Indiana, hitherto devoted to the Union, will become so blind and led away by passion and prejudice, to be willing to hazard the stability of a government that has afforded them so much of security and prosperity, for the sake of removing a supposed evil that exists without their borders, and with which, politically, they have no concernment. I will rather believe that they will adopt and adhere to those true principles—on which alone can this community of States be lasting—that the people of each State and Territory shall be left free to regulate their own domestic concerns in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. In this way, each community attending to its own affairs and leaving others to do the same, we may look forward with confidence to long years of continued growth in everything that makes a nation prosperous, happy, and great. But if, instead of this, each community shall undertake to decide, not only what is for its own good, but what is for its neighbors also, then, indeed, shall "we have fallen upon evil times," and the days of the Union may be said to be already numbered.

I have not the time now to elaborate these views, but if I shall have the pleasure of meeting my fellow-citizens through the summer I will attempt it then.

Mr. Buchanan is eminently a national man, of great ability and enlarged experience, and his past record furnishes a sufficient guarantee that the government in his hands will be able and faithfully administered, not upon sectional but upon national grounds. If elected, he will be the President of the whole Union, not of a part of it. Colonel Fremont has no political antecedents, and we all know that he is the chosen candidate of a miserable, sectional, "higher-law" party, that sets at defiance all constitutional obligations, when they conflict with their perverted notions of political morality.

I feel great solicitude that in this contest the voice of Indiana should be heard above the battle's wreck, proclaiming her devotion to the Union and the Constitution. Nor am I willing to believe that she will maintain any other position. I will not doubt that Indiana—the North-western gem of the North—will put forth her united strength to preserve the integrity of our common government.

Only let her national, Constitutional, and Union-loving people understand the true issue—the living issue—involved in this election, and from every city, town, and hamlet throughout the length and breadth of the State they will rise in their majesty to protect the free institutions our fathers made, and to bury in merited oblivion the fanaticism and treason that would rob us of such a priceless inheritance.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

J. D. BRIGHT.

GORDON TANNER, Esq., Sec., &c.

## THE MISSOURI LINE OF OFFICE.

In a late article upon the disasters that would ensue from the election of J. C. Fremont to the Presidency, we merely referred to the one of appointments to office in the Southern States. We are induced to present this view again, because it is in our memory that the *National Era* some year or more since, rather advocated the confinement of federal appointments to the North, even when the duties of those offices were to be performed within the Southern States. We regret we have not a file of the *Era* that we might the better do justice to it and the subject, by a transfer of its article to our columns. In the discussion of these subjects, we are aware that complaint may be justly lodged against us, for repetition of views previously presented; but this should be excused by the necessity of making the appropriate application of the points, which we are often induced to make. The true basis of the Federal Union, and the considerations which induced it, are familiar to all, and, yet, judging from the present condition of parties, it would seem not wholly a work of supererogation to repeat them again, and again. We shall not, therefore, fail in this reiteration, because of the wilful deafness or hardened and sinful nature of our adversaries.

When the Union of these States was consummated, the institution of slavery existed in all of them but one. The cause of its non-existence in that one was not based upon any repugnance to slavery itself, or any sickly philanthropy upon the subject whatever. Had this been the case, the record would have shown it, and had the question of the right of property in slaves even been mooted, the conclusion is inevitable that the Union would never have been accomplished. The recognition of the institution of slavery, then, was not only unanimous by the States, but in TWELVE OUT OF THE THIRTEEN, it absolutely existed, and that, too, without even a remonstrance from the one that formed the exception!

But furthermore: Out of the thirteen States

there were seven Northern, and six Southern States; the North thus having a majority at the very first date of the confederacy. Of the seven Northern States, six were slave States, and one free State. Considering that this free State made no objection to the institution of slavery in her sister States, we may justly assume (particularly when we remember that Delaware is merely in theory a slave State) that the Northern States had a practical majority, and hence, having this institution before, and at the time, and subsequent to their membership in the Union, that they are responsible for its existence in the Union. The South, if she had so willed, had not the power to keep slavery out of the Union, because a majority of the whole number, and that majority made up of Northern (and now free) States, recognized and enjoyed it!

Thus it will not be controverted, that the right of property in slaves was a right anterior to, co-eval with, and subsequent to the adoption of the Federal Constitution—that it was not only an inherent and undisputed right, but was one of those rights that entered into the compact as clearly as any other right at all—that it was a right guarded, guaranteed and protected by the Constitution, and which cannot be abated, but by the nullification of that instrument itself.

With this plain, but veritable statement of the rights of the States in slave property at the period of the compact between the States, and the definition of those rights, under the Constitution, which pertain to them in the Territories or common domain of all the States, we come to consider the humiliating condition of things in this connection at the present time.

It will be seen from what we have to say further, that it is no longer an idle threat, that the Abolitionists succeed in electing their ticket, that the equality of the Southern States is to be utterly destroyed, and all her rights, privileges, and immunities under the Constitution are to be shamelessly ignored and repudiated.

What is the state of the case? A Convention of the Anti-Slavery party of the country is called, and assemblies in a Northern city. It is termed a national Convention. That this is a misnomer may be inferred by the fact, that there were but about half a dozen men found who were base enough to claim that they represented, in its deliberations—a Southern constituency. Fifteen of the States thus were unrepresented. A ticket was nominated by this NATIONAL Convention, presenting for the suffrages of the American people two individuals, both residing in free States and holding opinions not only foreign to, but in positive antagonism with, the constitutional rights and interests of one half of the States of the Union. Two individuals, who cannot obtain a single score of voters throughout the whole extent of this section of the Confederacy! The principles enunciated by this national Convention are at war with the Constitution and in audacious defiance of all moral and political rights. No sooner is this initiative treason and treachery accomplished, than, emboldened by their own achievement, they fling out their piratical banners with fifteen of the States stricken from the constellated galaxy of the American Union! Elected by a section of the Union, without the aid of the other section on the one hand, or the power successfully to resist this evil on the other, they come flushed with their treacherous victory to take the reins of Government. Discarding in advance, the Constitution as the chart by which their administration should be guided—spurning as inferiors fifteen of the sovereign members of the Union—trampling under the despotic heel of hellish power all of their rights and privileges—shearing them of their proud dignity, as equals—levelling them to the condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water—constituting them a serfdom to do the behests of their high will and pleasure; and, as if these were not enough, to sting them with the further humiliation of having the Federal offices within their own limits filled by the fiendish emissaries from their own foul and corrupt dominions, that the seed of domestic insurrection may be sown, or the torch of the midnight incendiary successfully applied to their once happy and peaceful homes. This is the character of the men, and these the principles of the party, who have come forth, like the great Philistine of Gath to defy the living armies of God and Liberty, of Right and Reason, of Justice and the Constitution! Is it an exaggerated picture? 4

*Missouri line of office is to be run! This is their scheme; for, not content with bowing you*